other than that of his own father, is the basic contributor to the luwaliram. His abakura (FaElBr) and abagana (FaYoBr) may contribute a share of the luwaliram, but his bawa (FaSi) is more likely to help in building a house for the boy rather than give to his luwaliram. His yakura (MoElSi), Yigana (MoYoSi), and Rawa (MoBr) only would give money to the luwaliram if their nephew grew up in their house. If not, they have no responsibility towards paying a share of his luwaliram. Since it typically happens that a boy grows to maturity in his father's house, his father has the primary responsibility for providing the luwaliram. A poor man would not ask a wealthy friend of his for luwaliram money which he, the poor man, must provide for his son.

If the father of a girl sees that his daughter is getting older, and that her prospects for getting married are not good for one reason or another, he may give his daughter away as a sadaka (alms) marriage. If he can, he gives his daughter as wife to an important malam, along with many presents and clothes. If he cannot afford to give presents, he just gives the girl. In such a marriage there is no bride-price, the only permitted exception to the general rule. The girl's father acts as her luwali, assuming responsibility for her conduct. Though she may be unattractive and bad-tempered, the man to whom the girl is given cannot refuse her if she is given as a sadaka marriage.

Other forms of marriage which avoid payment of a luwaliram are specifically not permitted. Exchange marriage is forbidden

576 moved in the presence of social superiors, and if the gap between them is great shoes are removed even when passing in front of the superior's compound. A person who continually avoids or breaks moral rules and rules of etiquette and good conduct is described as nungu ba (having no shame) or shim ngumdu (narrow eyes) - the latter from the saying " a man of narrow eyes has no shame."

Respect (bàrzum)

571 Respect (bàrzum) is a general category of behaviour in interpersonal relations which has to do with the response to power and authority. It ranges from shame-respect, described above, to friendship-respect in which there may be a more affective relationship that involves discipline and a superior-subordinate relation along with the possibility of partial intimacy depending upon factors of personality, age, generation, and sex differences of the actors.

593 Generally speaking the shame-respect relation is most
@ 604 stringently practised with own parents, being transferred to parents' siblings if any of these has taken on the parent's role toward ego. There is a significant difference in shame and friendship responses given to parents and to their collaterals. In the table below respect responses are not indicated because all informants gave a bàrzum response to own parents and parents' collaterals.

TABLE II

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Responses to the Category

	shame	friendship
own parents	99.5	0
pat. coll. (Parent's)	23.8	20.4
mat. coll. (Parent's)	23.2	20.2

593
604 In qualitative terms the table indicates that there is a relaxation of the shame-respect relation between ego and his parent's generation members of either sex as ego moves outward from own parents to their collaterals. One informant expressed the difference in behaviour towards own parents and their collaterals in the following manner:

> If I have matters to discuss about needing things, I will talk to my father; but if I wish to talk about marrying a girl - I will not talk to my father or my mother - there is shame in this - I will talk to my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) or my abakura (Fa-Ol-Bro) if I have one - then I will tell to my sister or my brother (real or classificatory) or my friends to go and tell my father and mother for me. I must never talk directly to my father and my mother about anything about my marriage.

593 After a marriage is joined any trouble between a man and his wife should ideally never get back to a man's parents if the man and his wife are not of the same family. However, such matters can usually be arranged through intermediaries.

602 There is a respect relationship between a husband's parents and his wife's parents, with tradition leaning over on the side of the wife's parents as to who receives more respect. That is to say, tradition directs that the bride's kindred are in a higher social status position than the groom's. However, the comparative social position of the two families in the society at large is a very real consideration in this matter. This respect relation overlaps into shame avoidance between the in-laws of opposite sex.

593 There is a variable discipline-respect relationship between ego and his older siblings of the same sex depending upon age disparity, presence or absence of real or adopted parents, and consideration of power and authority. If an older brother has taken

593 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior
465 who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in
604 shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bərzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a
571 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a
607 reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bərzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalised inter-

593 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 602 There is much friendship practised between ego and his collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzé (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate [476] friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sérwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sérwa contributions, and his ashirmanzé.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-